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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

L I F E , F A M I L Y , a n d C H A R A C T E R

O F

J O H N late Earl of S T A I R .

John Dalrymple

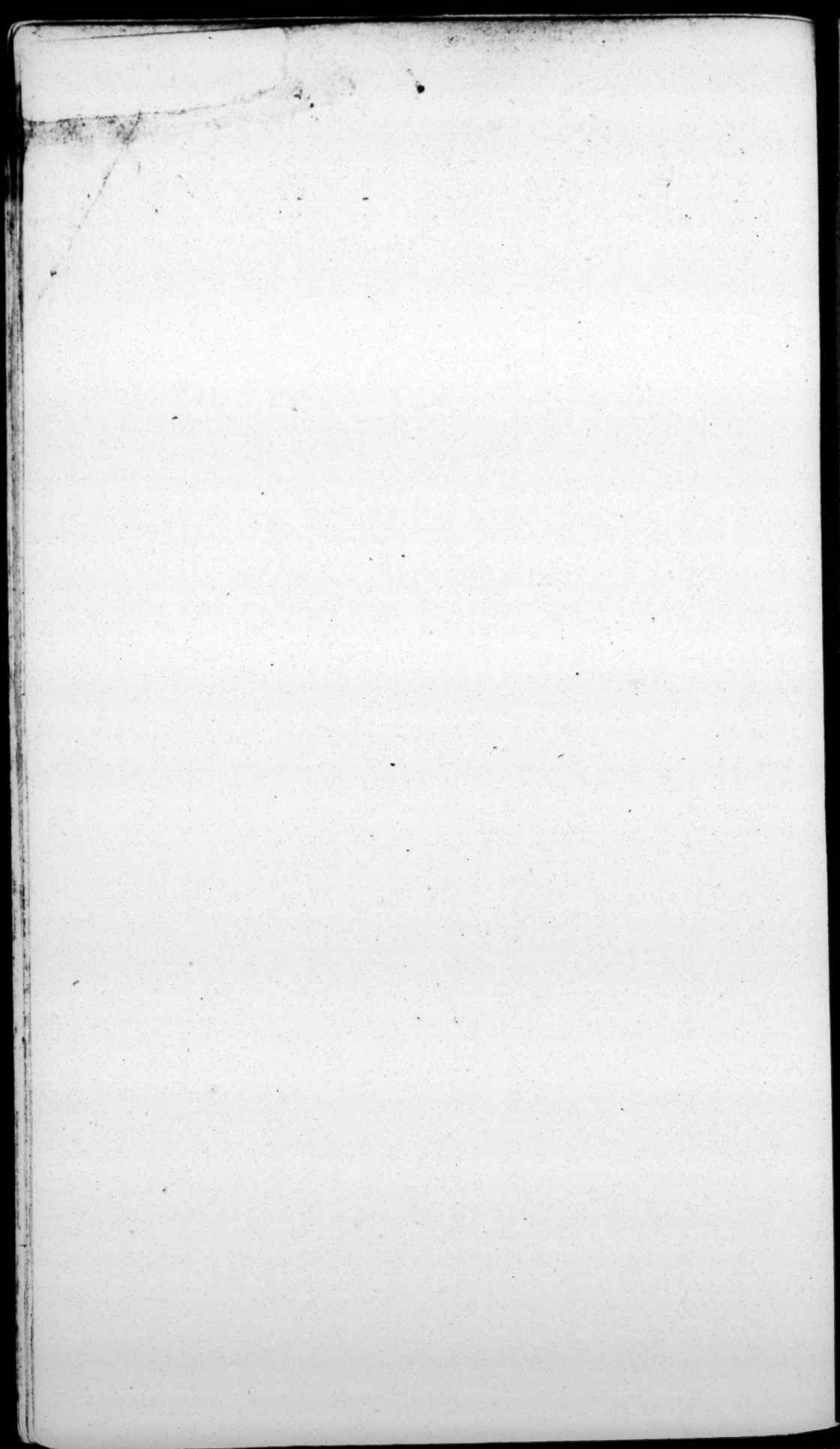
By an I M P A R T I A L H A N D .



L O N D O N ,

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MEMOIRS

O F

J O H N

E A R L of *STAIR*.

THE Character of a Patriot in the present Age, tho' assumed by many, is merited by so few, that an Author runs the Risque of having his Veracity call'd in Question, who attempts to describe any of his Contemporaries as possess'd of that publick Spirit, which once distinguish'd our Ancestors, and enabled them to establish our happy Constitution, and purchase the Liberties of these Kingdoms with their best Blood. If I intended to blazon the Character of any of our living Statesmen with the amiable Colourings of the Patriot Disposition, I might be justly suspected of Flattery, and the low Arts of

a venal Pen ; but when I search for the Character among the Dead, and fix the Epithet to the Name of *John* Earl of *Stair*, I believe the Publick will acquit me of Partiality, and the Reader will anticipate all I can say in Praise of a Character so truly amiable, and so pregnant with every Ingredient that enter the Composition of the truly disinterested Patriot.

To describe that great Man really as he was, is a Task I own myself greatly inferior to ; to paint the great Qualifications he was possess'd of as a Statesman and a Soldier, requires a Genius above the common Reach of Writers ; I only mean to throw together such Particulars of his History, as may serve to gratify the Curiosity of the Publick, and, in some Measure, make them acquainted with so uncommon a Character ; in doing of which, as I have no Interest to serve, no Party to flatter, no particular Measures to justify ; as I have no Ambition to gratify, nor Malice to fear, I shall narrate Facts as they appear to me, and allow myself to be guided in the following Pages by no other Motives than a sacred Regard to Truth, and Justice to the Memory of the last of our *Scotch* Patriots.

John

John Dalrymple, Earl of *Stair*, lived some Years the only surviving Patriot of his Country; he lived to see the once warlike, flourishing and independent Kingdom of *Scotland* annihilated as a State, and lived to be the only Man in that Nation who felt her Calamities, and had Courage or Honesty enough to speak his Grievance, though he had not Strength to redress them; and, as if Nature design'd him to be every Way singular, and owe his Merit to nothing but himself, though not the first great Man, yet he was the first honest Man of his Name and Family.

The Name *Dalrymple*, which distinguishes this Nobleman, was scarce known in *Scotland* till *Charles* the Second's Time; before that Period it was never borne by any Gentleman, and was looked upon even by the lowest Kind of People as a Sirname of Reproach; as a Proof of this, a Saying of King *James* the Sixth is objected to such as would give it a more favourable Repute. A Gentleman of that Kingdom was once complaining to that Monarch, that he was obliged to change his Name for the Sake of an Estate, King *James* replied, " God's Fish, Man, you are a Fool, if I
" were in your Situation, for such an Estate

“ I would call myself any thing ; nay,
 “ I would be content to be call'd *Dal-*
rymple.” From hence those who want
 to mortify the Pride of this quick-grow-
 ing Family would infer, that *Dalrymple*
 was the meanest and most odious Sirname
 in all *Scotland*.

However, notwithstanding the Meanness
 of the Name, the Family has found an
 Historian who has attempted to rescue it
 from Contempt, and to give the Family
 of *Stair* if not a noble, at least a decent
 Extraction, the Author I mean is *Craw-*
ford on the Peerage of Scotland, from whom
 the Compilers of the *Scotch Compendium*
 have copied the Pedigree of this Noble-
 man ; but the venal Talents of that Au-
 thor, and his bare-faced Forgeries with re-
 gard to Pedigrees, are so well known, that
 few, the least acquainted with the History
 of *Scotch Families*, give any Credit to his
 Testimony ; and in this his Partiality is so
 conspicuous, I am convinced there is not
 a Man living of the Name, but (if he can)
 blushes at his Relation.

This Author has traced Gentlemen, Pre-
 decessors to the Earl of *Stair*, as far back
 as the Reign of *Alexander the Third* ; but,
 in

in Spite of his Inclination to create Kindred to this noble Family, he is obliged to leave a Chasm of three or four hundred Years in the Succession; and then mentions the Great Grandfather of the late Earl, whom he charges with marrying an Heiress of the Barony of *Stair*. However, by this Means, they got Possession of what my Author calls a Barony, a Thing which sounds high in *England*; but, in Effect, it was not a Barony, but a small Grass Farm, not worth in those Days 20 *l.* a Year; but, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, it became an Addition to the Name of *Dalrymple*, and constituted the now Proprietor a *Laird*. That it was not very considerable appears from this, that the Laird of *Stair*, and he who was truly the Founder of the Name, was only Professor of Philosophy in one of the Universities, a Place not worth 100 *l. per Annum*, a Salary too mean to have tempted the Proprietor of a Barony to accept of it.

This Philosophy Professor was by King *Charles the Second* appointed one of the Senators of the College of Justice, President of the *Scotch* Privy Council, and was returned Member of Parliament for the Shire
of

of *Wigtoun*; and, last of all, was, by the same merry Monarch, created a Baronet. This Man, whose Name was *James*, continued in Favour all the Reign of *Charles the Second*, and during the short Reign of his Brother *James*, to whose Measures he proved the most obsequious Man in *Scotland*, he had no other Motive to Action but Ambition, and never could charge himself with doing any Thing that did not tend to aggrandize his new-rai's'd Family, and enlarge his Estate. He served his King as long as he thought Loyalty would be any real Gain to him, and went further in promoting the *Popish* Measures than any other Man in the Kingdom: He was active in the Affair of the Test, and a zealous Persecutor of the great Earl of *Argyle*; yet when King *James's* Affairs grew desperate, and those very Measures this Man and his Son had dictated to him, had ruined him with his People, Sir *James Dalrymple* changed his Maxims of Government, and steered by another Compass. He forgot the Obligations he owed to King *James* and his Brother, who had raised him from a Rank almost beneath Obscurity to the first Posts of the Nation,

and

and plotted the Ruin of his Master and Family, under the false Mask of Zeal for his Country's Liberty ; but the Deceit was too gross to pass upon honest Men, since all Mankind were sensible that those very Steps in King *James's* Conduct, about which his Enemies made the greatest Clamour, were advised by this Man and his Son, who afterwards had the consummate Impudence to boast that he had given such Advice in order to render the too easily deluded King odious to his People. The Places he was in, and the Influence these gave him in the Nation, afforded him an Opportunity to be very instrumental in the Revolution ; for which King *William* rewarded him with the Office of Secretary of State, and the Title of Viscount *Stair*.

That the Revolution was a happy Event for *Scotland*, all of that Country, who have but the Sense of *feeling*, must confess ; but the Advantage *accruing* from that Measure can never acquite the Founder of the Family of *Stair* from the grossest Treachery in the Means he pursued to bring it about.

He married *Margaret*, Daughter to *Ross* of *Balxeel*, with whom he got a good Estate ;

Estate; and the weaker sort of People say, that to this Woman is owing the present Grandeur of the *Dalrymple's* Family, they repute her nothing less than a Witch, and that she had made a Contract with the Devil, to raise her Husband and his Issue to the Height they are now arrived at, she lived to a great Age; and at her Death desired that she might not be put under Ground, but that her Coffin should stand upright on one End of it, promising that while she remain'd in that Situation the *Dalrymple* should continue to flourish. what was the Old Lady's Motive for the Request, or whether she really made such a Promise, I shall not take upon me to determine, but its certain, her Coffin stands upright in the Isle of the Church of *Kirklistown*, the Burial-place belonging to the Family; and its probable the odd Position of her Corpse, and the sudden Rise of so many of that Name, without any very visible Reason, may give Occasion to that vulgar Conjecture, that the Lady was a Witch.

By her the first Viscount had five Sons and four Daughters. The young Ladies match'd to some of the best *Scotch* Families, and the Sons lived to be all of them

them very considerable in their Country, but none so much so as *John* the Eldest, who succeeded his Father to his soon-got and ill-got Estate, Honour and Vices. In 1690, he was made Lord Advocate; in a short Time after Lord Justice *Clerk*, and the next Year Secretary of State. He was by her Majesty Queen *Anne* created Earl of *Stair* in *Anno* 1703; was a zealous Stickler for the Union, and eminently instrumental, not only in making it, but in making it such as it was before it was rectified by the superlative Wisdom of the lately deceased Parliament; however, he did not live to finish his Work, he was not permitted to see the great Day of his Lord, nor to reap the Fruits of his Labour in this World, for that very Day in which he voted away the Privilege of his Fellow-Peers, and had given his Consent to the Eighth Article of the Treaty of Union, he went Home much fatigued with the Business of the House, and was found next Morning hanged in his Bed-Chamber. The ugly Accident was concealed as much as possible, and his Friends gave out, that he died of a Fit of an Apoplexy.

The Character of this Noble Lord is much controverted ; the Whigs, to whom his Vices and Virtues were serviceable, make a Saint of him ; and the Jacobites, who suffered by his Talents, make him worse than a Devil. I do not pretend to determine between such Extreams ; I shall only give the Reader his Character by a profess'd Jacobite, and the Remarks of a Whig upon it, from whence we may judge what to make of this first Earl of *Stair*. The Jacobite I mean is *Lockart*, Author of the *Scotch* Memoirs, who describes him thus.

The Character of John the First Earl of Stair.

“ *John* Earl of *Stair*, was the Origin
 “ and principal Instrument of all the
 “ Misfortunes that befell either the King
 “ * or Kingdom of *Scotland*. It was he
 “ that advised King *James* to emit a Pro-
 “ clamation, remitting the Penal Laws,
 “ by Virtue of his own absolute Power
 “ and Authority, and made several other
 “ Steps, with a Design (as he since bragg'd,
 to

* He means here King *James* the Second.

“ to procure the Nation’s Hatred, and
 “ prove his Ruin ; and it was he that un-
 “ derhand carried on the Revolution in
 “ *Scotland*, and thus he acted the same
 “ Part as the Earl of *Sunderland* did in
 “ *England*. It was he that, to secure his
 “ Interest in King *William’s* Time, con-
 “ triv’d, and was the Author of the bar-
 “ barous Murder of * *Glenco*, and had a
 C 2 “ main

* The Massacre of *Glenco* is pretty well known to most People, the least versant in the Transactions of that famous Reign : The Affair was briefly this ; a Number of the Highland Clans appeared in Arms, under the Command of the Lord *Dundee*, and obtain’d a Signal Victory over King *William’s* Troops at the Battle of *Killycranky*, but by the Death of that Lord in the Action, they reap’d nothing by the Victory, but the Honour of beating a superior Number of Regular Forces : They dispers’d after the Battle and the Friends of the Revolution thought themselves obliged to suppress so dangerous a Spirit, as then appeared in the *Highlands*. A Proclamation was therefore issued, commanding all the Chiefs of Clans to appear on such a Day to take the Oaths, and give Security for their good Behaviour ; this happen’d in the dead of Winter ; Mr. *Mac Donald* of *Glenco*, left his own House in order to take the Oaths at *Edinburgh*, but by the Badness of the Weather was so long retarded, that he judged he might be straitened in Point of Time, therefore proffer’d to take the Oaths at *Inverary* before the Sheriff of *Argyle* ; but that Magistrate, for Reasons best known to himself, refused to admit him. Mr. *Mac Donald* then made the best of his Way to *Edinburgh*, but arrived one Day later than the Time prescribed by Law : The Judge Advocate permitted him to take the Oath,

but

“ main Hand in the Plot just now mention’d
 “ to cut off the Chief of the Cavaliers
 “ and Country Parties, * and in this to
 “ whom

but told him he could not answer for the Consequence of his not having come within the Time. Mr. *Mac Donald* returned Home to his own House, satisfied in himself, that if he had not fulfilled the Law literally as to Time, yet he had perform’d the equitable Intent of it, and therefore rested secure that he had incurr’d no Penalty; but *Stair*, then Secretary, out of a Personal Pique to the unhappy Gentleman, resolved his Ruin; he therefore obtained a Warrant under King *William’s* own Hand, directed to the Governor of *Fort-William*, ordering the said Mr. *Mac Donald*, and the Inhabitants of his Estate of *Glenco* to be put to the Sword. The Execution of this bloody Order was committed to one *Hamilton*, who went with a Party from *Fort-William*, and took Quarters in a friendly Manner at Mr. *Mac Donald’s* House, and those of his Tenants: The unfortunate Gentleman not suspecting the horrid Design, entertain’d his Assassins that Evening with the most Hospitable and Friendly Welcome. At Night the Commanding Officer was by his Host conducted to his Chamber, but in the Dead of Night, upon a Signal given, the Party rose and massacred in their Beds Mr. *Mac Donald*, and all the People in the Estate, not even Women and Infants escaping their barbarous Rage.

* The Plot here mention’d, is that form’d by the Duke of *Queensberry* and *Stair*, and conducted by the late Lord *Lovat*: *Lovat* then only Mr. *Frazer* of *Beaufort* was employ’d by these Peers to go over to *France*, and to endeavour to draw the Heads of the opposite Faction into a Plot against the Government, and then to betray them, or if he could not actually engage them, he was to accuse them right or wrong: The Design took Air before it was ripe, made a great Noise, but tended only to the Confusion of the Con-trivers.

“ whom can he be so well compared as
 “ to *Cataline* ? it was he that first suffered,
 “ I should rather rather say, taught and
 “ encouraged *England* arbitrarily and
 “ avowedly to rule over *Scotch* Affairs,
 “ invade her Freedom, and ruin her
 “ Trade (meaning here the Colony of
 “ *Darcen*.) ’Twas he that was at the
 “ Bottom of the Union, and to him in a
 “ great Measure it owes its Success, and
 “ so he may be styled the *Judas* of his
 “ Country. As he was thus the Bane of
 “ *Scotland* in general, so he and his Fa-
 “ mily were the general Oppressors of
 “ all the particular Persons that did not
 “ depend upon him, and go along with
 “ his Designs, and that so openly and
 “ barefacedly, that a Cavalier or Anti-
 “ Courtier was not to expect common
 “ Justice where his Brother was President,
 “ whereby he and his Family were at the
 “ same Time the most dreaded and most
 “ detested of any of the Kingdom, ruling
 “ over whom and after what Manner
 “ they pleas’d. This Family had rose
 “ but lately from nothing; and it was so
 “ much the stronger, that they pretend-
 “ ed to, and others suffered them to
 “ usurp

“ usurp such a Dominion, as extended
 “ not only over the * Cavaliers alone, but
 “ even such of the Revolution Party as
 “ were of any other Interest besides
 “ theirs, felt the heavy Effects of it.
 “ From this short Abstract of the Earl’s
 “ Life, its easy to gather that he was
 “ False and Cruel, Covetous and Imperi-
 “ ous, altogether destitute of the sacred
 “ Ties of Honour, Loyalty, Justice, and
 “ Gratitude, and lastly, a Man of very
 “ great Parts, else he could never have
 “ perpetrated so much Wickedness : He
 “ had, indeed, a piercing Judgment, a
 “ lively Imagination, a quick Apprehen-
 “ sion, a faithful Memory, a solid Reflec-
 “ tion, and a particular Talent of Diffi-
 “ mulation and Cunning in their greatest
 “ extent ; so that he was seldom or
 “ never to be taken unawares. He
 “ was extremely facetious and diverting
 “ Company in common Conversation,
 “ and setting aside his Politicks (to which
 “ all did yield) good natured. To these
 “ Qualifications was likewise added that
 “ of Eloquence, being so great a Master
 “ of it, that he express’d himself on all
 Occasions

* The Name given the Jacobites in those Days.

“ Occasion and Subjects, with so much
 “ Life and Rhetorick, and that likewise
 “ so pointedly and copiously, that there
 “ was none in Parliament capable to take
 “ up the Cudgels with him. Had a Judg-
 “ ment of his Inside been taken from his
 “ Outside, he might well enough have
 “ pass’d for that of which he was the least.
 “ These Endowments much improved by
 “ long Experience and Application in Bu-
 “ siness, may justly entitle him to be
 “ rank’d among the greatest, though at
 “ the same Time amongst the worst Men
 “ of the Age; and what may be said of
 “ him may serve for a Character of his
 “ two Brothers, Sir *Hugh* and Sir *Da-*
 “ *vid*, yea of the whole Name : Only with
 “ this Difference, that tho’ they were all
 “ equally willing, yet they were not
 “ equally capable of doing so much Mis-
 “ chief as his Lordship.”

I shall add by way of Contrast to this
 strange Character the Comment of a Whig
 Author, who in speaking of the several
 Characters drawn by the Author of the
 Memoirs of *Scotland*, takes Notice of the
 Account

Account he gives of the Earl of *Stair* in these Words.

“ The Probity of these Memoirs is
 “ further illustrated in the Attack upon the
 “ Character of the *Unblemish'd* Earl of
 “ *Stair* inaccessible one wou'd think
 “ even [to Envy itself. What Quarter
 “ must Persons expect in the lower *Orbs*
 “ of *Life, from the Rage of a Faction,*
 “ *when such sublime Virtues are so profanely*
 “ *insulted?* One who commanded Assem-
 “ blies by a Masculine unforced Elo-
 “ quence, and gave Conviction to the
 “ most prejudic'd Minds. His early and
 “ ardent Zeal for the Revolution, and
 “ incessant Toil for establishing it on a
 “ lasting Basis, are Services never to be
 “ forgiven by one Set of Men, nor for-
 “ gotten by another.

“ But the Plan he laid for consolidating
 “ the two Kingdoms, and thereby giving
 “ a Sanction to the Title of the Illustrious
 “ House of *Hanover* to these Realms, will
 “ always put the Blood of a Faction into
 “ the highest Ferment, and gnash their
 “ Teeth, tho' they are grinded down by
 “ this happy Constitution, we see to what
 miserable

“ miserable Shifts they are reduced, when,
 “ in Opposition to the Brightness of his
 “ Merit, they are forced to glance at the
 “ Freshness of this Man’s Family, whilst
 “ they must be content to enjoy the soli-
 “ tary Title convey’d to them by a for-
 “ tuitous Generation, unaccompanied
 “ with those Honours which flow from an
 “ exemplary Desert and superior Genius ;
 “ but what will entail their Malice upon
 “ this Noble Family is to see the Hereditary
 “ Virtue of the Father shine out so con-
 “ spicuously in all the Actions of an ac-
 “ complish’d Son.”

The Reader will easily see the Difference between a studied Panegyrick (as this last seems to be) and a Character supported by Facts, which this Flatterer has not so much as attempted to palliate or controvert : Let us leave then this great wicked Man who killed his own Brother, betray’d (by his own Confession) a kind Master, and sold his Country, and come to the Character of his Son *John*, the late and last Earl of *Stair*.

John, the second Earl of *Stair*, inherited his Father’s Honours and Estate, which did not last one Generation ; was possess’d

of every honest Qualification his Father enjoy'd as a Statesman, without the smallest Tincture of those base Vices which sullied that great Man's Character : He was the Reverse of his Father as to his Morals, but his Superior in every other Qualification, since, to the enumerated Talents of the first Earl, the second added that of a brave and experienced Commander.

John, the last Earl of *Stair*, was born in the Year 1670 ; his Mother was Daughter and sole Heiress of Sir *John Dundas* of *Newleiston*. His Lordship, even when a Child, discovered a natural Genius for Arms, and a Greatness of Soul which accompanied all his Actions during the whole Course of his Life : He was educated at the University of *Edinburgh*, where he made a large and early Progress in all Branches of Literature, but it was easy to foresee that Books were not his sole Delight ; he had a Vivacity of Genius that was not to be confined by the dull Rules of a College ; he wanted to study Men and Things, but particularly the Military Art ; yet his Judgment laid so much Restraint upon the Fire of his Disposition,

that

that he gave Application to his Studies, till he had acquired all these Endowments, which rendered him one of the most accomplish'd Noblemen of the Age.

The Father, who was no bad Judge of Men, and soon discover'd that, tho' his Son's Genius was equal to the Office of a Statesman, yet its natural Bent was turn'd to the Camp, resolv'd to encourage it, as he knew he had Interest enough at Court to give his Son a favourable Introduction into the Military World; he was the easier induced to permit his Son to follow his Inclination for the Army, as he found in him an Openness and Honesty of Disposition, a noble generous Frankness of Temper that scorn'd the little mean Arts of Dissimulation and Cunning, which are so necessary to make the greatest Talents useful in a Political Sphere. It was a common Saying of his, " That his Son *John* " had too much blunt Honesty to be a " Courtier, and that he would never " make his Fortune by flattering the " Folly or administering to the Vices of " the Great." Therefore he chose the Camp as his proper Sphere, where Dissi-

mulation was not necessary, and plain honest Truth was not dangerous.

His Lordship served some Time as an Exempt in the *Scotch* Guards, and in the Year 1701-2 was advanced to the Command of a Regiment of Foot, which he afterwards quitted for a Lieutenant-Colonel's Commission from her Majesty Queen *Anne*, in the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards.

But a Commission in his Pocket, and a Feather in his Cap, was not all of the Military the young Lord wanted ; he coveted to be instructed in the Art of War, and to taste the Dangers of a real Campaign. The Gain and Glory acquired by the immortal *Marlbrough* fired his Breast, and he would not rest till he went to learn under that great Master the Secret of Military Greatness.

He went over to *Flanders* as a Volunteer, and exposed his Person to all Dangers without Reserve ; was present at the most considerable Actions during Queen *Anne's* Wars, and always behaved with calm Courage and rational Intrepidity. As a Volunteer he was at the taking of *Venlo* and *Liege*, and at the Cannonade
of

of *Peer*, where he was taken particular Notice of by the Duke of *Marlbrough*, not so much on Account of his Quality, as for that Sympathy of Soul which always discovers itself among the truly Great.

He was first made *Aid de Camp* to the Duke, and afterwards preferr'd to the Command of the Royal *Scotch* Greys, which Regiment was then on Duty in *Flanders*. At the Battle of *Ramillies* he commanded a Brigade of Foot, and on the first of *June* 1706 was made a Brigadier, in which Station he commanded at the Battle of *Oudenard*, where his present Majesty was present as Electoral Prince of *Hanover*. This Lord brought the News of the Victory to *England*, and was on that Account and his Personal Merit, to which the Duke of *Marlbrough* had done Justice in his Letters, most graciously received by her Majesty Queen *Anne*.

His Lordship did not return to the Campaign, but set out for *Scotland*, where the Affair of the Union ingross'd all Mens Attentions. He was appointed one of the Commissioners to the Treaty, where he acted like the other *Scotch* Statesmen, that is, did as he was directed; tho'

I am

I am ready to do his Lordship this Justice, that I believe he implicitly obeyed his Father, and never received any of the dirty Perquisites that so much fully'd the Merit of that valuable Measure.

In *January* 1707 his Father died, little lamented: The Manner of his Death and the clamorous State of the Country deterr'd the young Earl from coveting to succeed him in any of his State Employments, especially as the State itself was to have so short a Date; therefore having secured an Interest in being chosen one of the Sixteen Peers for the first *British* Parliament, he set out for his Command in *Flanders*.

In *January* 1708-9 he was promoted to the Rank of a Major-General, and in that Quality commanded at the Battle of *Janier* near *Mons*. The next Year he was promoted to the Degree of a Lieutenant-General, and assisted at the Siege of *Doway*, where the Duke of *Marlborough*, as her Majesty's Commissioner, invested him with the Order of the Thistle; he received the Ensign of the Order upon his Knees, supported by the Earls of *Orkney* and *Orrery*, two Knights Brethren of the Order, in the Presence

Presence of all the Officers of Distinction in the Ally'd Army.

This Investiture of the Thistle was given at this Time only to give him an Air of greater Importance at the Court of *Poland*, where he was commission'd to go as her Majesty's Ambassador, where he first discover'd that negotiating Talent which made him afterwards the Admiration of all *Europe*.

He returned from *Poland* some Time before the Queen died; and, upon the late King's Accession, was made one of the Lords of the Bed-Chamber, and sworn of his Majesty's Privy - Council; and the same Year succeeded to the Duke of *Argyle* in the chief Command of the Forces in *Scotland*. The Year following he was made Colonel of Dragoons, and on the 12th of *September* 1715 he was appointed his Majesty's Ambassador to the Court of *France*, a Scene where he display'd the consummate Politician, the generous Patriot, and the firmest Loyalty; he was true to his King, useful and an Honour to his Country, but false to himself and Family, since on that Ambassy he spent not only his Publick Appointments, and the yearly

yearly Income of his Estate and Places, but incumber'd his whole Patrimony, in-
somuch that, when he died, he was not
worth above Two Hundred a Year free
Estate, and that saved out of his Appoint-
ments since the Year 1743.

The Time of his going to *France* was
singularly critical. The Rebellion in
Scotland was just appearing, and the Re-
bels there expected the greatest Part of
their Succour from that Kingdom. The
Regent had undertaken to set the Cheva-
valier upon the Throne, in Expectation
that upon the Success of that Attempt
the Kingdom of *Ireland* was to have been
made a Settlement for his Family : This
was his Bait to engage in that Affair
and that the Dependence the Jaco-
bite Party had upon him : But upon the
Earl of *Stair's* Appearance at that Court
who made the most splendid Publick
Entry into *Paris* that ever was known,
his Measures were watch'd so close by
that vigilant Minister, that all the
Schemes of the Party were disconcerted,
and half the Succours, which they endea-
vour'd by Stealth to furnish themselves
with from *France*, were intercepted by
Means of the early Intelligence the Earl
of

of *Stair* gave of their Motions; so that in a great Measure the Defeat of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, was owing to the watchful Conduct of this great Man: He not only had Intelligence of what the Regent was transacting for the Party in private, and obliged him by repeated Memorials to desist giving them any Assistance; but, by his Spies about the late King *James's* Queen, he made himself acquainted with all the Secrets of the Rebellion, their Designs and Motives, and a List of the Names of such Persons in *England* as gave them Encouragement to enter that Part of the Island; and by this Means enabled the Government to make early Provision against their Intrigues, and to secure many Persons whose Liberty at that Time might have been dangerous to the Country, as well as destructive to their own Families.

When, by his early Intelligence to the Ministry, he had broke the Measures of the Rebellion, and the Fugitives expected a safe Assylum at the Court of *France*, they found themselves disappointed, and the Interest of the *British* Minister so great, that the Pretender was not permitted, on his Return from his miserable

Expedition, to remain in *France* ; but was obliged to travel through *incognito*, being frequently in Danger of being discovered by some whom this Lord sent to watch him. Some of the Jacobite Party think the Earl of *Stair* carried his Vigilance on this Head beyond the strict Bounds of Honour, and that he had several Times Way-laid the Chevalier, in order to assassinate him ; but, as far as I can judge of his Character, he was incapable of such a Design ; and the Story of a design'd Assassination must have been suggested only by the Fears of that unhappy Prince and his Attendants, in their Flight out of the *French* Territories. Its certain some *English* followed him most of the Way, by the Earl's Appointment ; but that might only be to watch that no Intercourse was kept privately betwixt him and the Regent : In all other Respects the Earl behaved with a Politeness that was natural to him to all the Fugitives of Note he met with in *France* ; and in particular he treated the Queen-Mother, as King *James's* Queen was there called, with a Deference that bespoke nothing of personal Malice, or a Mind capable of so base an Action

as that of assassinating her Son. If at any Time her Coach met him in the Street, he stopt to give her Way, and alighted from his Coach till she passed; and one of his Retinue, a young Gentleman of more Zeal than Prudence, having taken the Liberty in *French* Company to treat her Majesty's Name and the Exiled Family with some scurrilous Epithets, upon Complaint to the Earl by some of the Company he cashier'd the young Gentleman out of his Service, and had a Commission which he had in the Army taken from him. He said upon that Occasion, she was once Queen of *England*, and the Family then spoken of had once the Honour to sway the *British* Scepter, and for that Reason had a Right to be spoke of at least with Decency by every Subject, especially in a Country where the Queen was so nearly allied to the Royal Blood. This Treatment bespeaks so much of the polite Gentleman, and is so unlike the Spirit of an Abettor of an Assassination, that I believe the Publick will acquit me of Partiality for denying this Jacobite Calumny.

He was not only successful in discovering the Jacobite Intrigues at the Court of

France, but prevented a great many *English* Workmen from settling in that Country, who had been deluded over to settle Woollen Manufactures upon the Schemes of the great Monsieur *Colbert*; he had his Intelligence in all Parts of the Kingdom, where these Projects were in Agitation; and by his Agents found Means to persuade the Workmen to return home, and furnish'd them with Money out of his own Pocket for their Charges: By which Means, during his Residence in *France*, the Woollen Manufacture did not increase in Proportion to their Expectation; but since his Time, and the little Concern succeeding Ministers have taken upon that important Head, they are enabled to vie with us in our own Staple Commodity, and even to undersell us at most Markets in *Europe*.

But the Earl not only baffled our Rebellion begun in *Scotland*, but disappointed the Project of another, which would have been more formidable than the former. It was a Design that was formed by *Charles the Twelfth* and the Czar of *Muscovy*, to set the Crown upon the Pretender's Head, in Revenge of the late King's purchasing
Bremen

Bremen and *Verden*, when *Charles* was in Distress. The Project was conducted by Count *Gillenburgh*, Minister from *Sweden*, and one Mr. *Erskine*, Physician and Favourite to the Czar; and was upon the Point of being executed, Part of Fifty Thousand Pounds, stipulated to be advanced by the *English* Jacobites to the King of *Sweden*, to defray the Charge of this Expedition, being actually paid into the Count's Hands upon his Master's Orders: But the Earl of *Stair*, by Means of one of his Ladies, whom he knew how to unlock, came at the Secret, and acquainted the late King with it; upon which the Count's Papers were seized, and the whole Project unravelled, and another laid that proved more successful, in giving a quieting Dose to that ambitious Monarch, who had grown the Dread of all his Neighbours, and which it is said cost just such a Sum as that *Charles* was to have had for disturbing the Peace of *England*.

The Earl of *Stair*, to all his other Talents as a Minister, added a particular Method of prying into the Secrets of the Court where he resided, which, in Effect, is the chief Business of an Ambassador, they

they being nothing else than tolerated Spies. All the common Method of Sifting, Sounding, and Bribing, he put in Practice, and succeeded even in that beaten Road better than any of his Predecessors ; but found these Methods did not sufficiently answer his Ends in so critical a Conjunction, when nothing but Caballing and Secret Intrigues employ'd the Attention of all *Europe*, and the Court of *France* more than any other

Then the Ladies, as well as Men, were employ'd, or affected to be employ'd, in the most intricate Affairs of State. The Male Ministry were too much upon their Guard, and too fully prepossessed of the Earl's Penetration, to let any of their Councils perspire ; but the Female Politicians, however wise in their own Conceit were more open to an Attack from a Man of my Lord *Stair's* Address. There is no Court on Earth where there is more Gallantry, and less of gross Intrigue, than at the Court of *Versailles* : An Air of Gallantry and Respect for the Ladies possesses every grave Statesmen, and mixes itself with their most serious Concern ; so that to an unexperienced *Englishman* the whole

whole Court would seem little better than a well regulated Brothel; but the Case is widely different, for the gallant Commerce that passes between the Nobility and Ladies, which appear to Strangers as the Effect of Intrigue and particular Attachment, is no more than Compliments, which the Ladies accept of as due to their Sex. But are never carried any Lengths contrary to Virtue or good Breeding. Therefore however, the Earl at that Period of Life might be inclin'd to indulge any particular Intrigue, either for Private or Political Views, he was too much acquainted with the People to expect he could find a Way to their Secrets by the help of the blind God; if he really engaged in any Thing of that Nature, it was managed with such Secresy and Decorum as never to come to Light; yet his Excellency plaid the Gallant as much as any *French* Man, and made Publick Court to the Ladies according to the Mode of the Country, and was receiv'd by all the Beau Monde with particular Marks of Esteem, such as would have made a Novice to the gay Humour of that Nation believe half the Court was
over

over Head and Ears in Love with him.

He frequented all Publick Assemblies of the Nobility, and made one in all Parties of Pleasure, so that tho' he negotiated as much Business as any Minister in *Europe*, yet to outward Appearance he seem'd to Mind nothing but Pleasure, and appeared rather like a Nobleman upon the Tour of *Europe* than a Minister of State ; but the Earl had his Design in all this, it was not to gratify his Taste for Pleasure, and the Amusement of High Life ; in these gay Diversions he had more serious Considerations. He knew the *French* Ladies were possess'd of Secrets he wanted to know, and that if he could not insnare them in *Cupid's* Toil, yet they had another prevailing Foible, that expos'd them as much to be practis'd on by those who had Designs upon them ; this was their Love of Play, with this View he threw away his Fortune profusely, and coveted to lose his Money to the Female Ministry.

The *French* Ladies like all Female Gamesters, look'd upon the *English* Ambassador as a Cully, and endeavour'd to vye with one another in Complaisance to him,

him, in order to have his Company at their set Parties for Play, since they knew his coming was certain to bring them their beloved Gain: Thus they fell into his Snare, and he could pump them at Pleasure.

At one of these Parties he got the first Hint of the King of *Sweden's* Design upon *Britain*, but not sufficient to trace the Design to the Bottom, but he Understanding there was a Correspondence carrying on between Baron *Gortz* by the Means of Count *Gillenberg* with the *English* Jacobites, and that the Countess of —— was in the Secret.

That Lady like the rest of the Court, had the Itch of Play upon her, but was not so Communicative as others were, his Lordship try'd to lose his Money with her, and trifled away some Thousands, but still the Lady was Impenetrable upon every Political Subject, tho' she treated the Ambassador with as much Complaisance as possible, and even with some more than ordinary Marks of Esteem, which she certainly affected only to prevail on him to continue to lose his Money with her. His Lordship finding

her inaccessible upon a winning Hand, was resolved to try if her Temper was Proof against Loss. He contrived it so that he was her Partner at a Party at Wisk for very large Sums, and of Course lost his Money. His Female Politician lost with him all her ready Money, and desired him to advance till she went Home, or a turn of Luck should happen; this was the very Point he aim'd at. He now pursued ill Luck with the same eagerness as a wise Player does a winning Chance: Whether the Run of ill Luck was purely accidental, or that his Lordship by a negligent Manner of Play contributed to it, I shall not determine, but they remain'd at Play till both the Ambassador and his Partner were stripped, and the Lady indebted some Thousand Pistols to the Earl for her Share. The Play broke up, and the Lady went Home highly shagreen'd at so unfortunate a Night. The Heat of Play as it commonly does, hindered her from reflecting upon the Consequence of losing so much Money, a Sum which her Husband, tho' rich enough would have parted with Life rather than discharge. Her Agony, when she

she came to her Chamber, and had Time to reflect on the several Circumstances was inexpressible. A Thousand Times she cursed the Ambassador's ill Luck, and blasphemed all the Saints in the Calander for permitting her to fall into such a Misfortune. The Earl must be reimbursed, her Privy Purse was empty, the Sum beyond her Credit: and the Miser her Husband must not know it: What then must be done in so cruel an Emergency? But there is nothing too hard for Woman's Wit, the Devil always helps them out at a Plunge, especially if it is to sink them deeper in his Design. She recollected that his Excellency had been Pumping of her for several Days, and concluded that the Discovery of a small Secret to the *English* Minister, might oblige him to delay some Time, if not altogether to remit the honourable Debt. The Thought calm'd her Bosom and permitted her to go to rest for that Night. The Earl of *Stairs* was too much of a Gentleman to appeared at the Lady's Levee next Morning, for fear of being suspected as a Dun, but he was eas'd of his Scruples by a Message from the Countess: This startled him a little for all his Hopes depended on her not be-

ing able to discharge the Debt, and he suspected she would not have sent for him if she was not ; but his Fears soon vanished ; when he was introduced to the Lady in her Bed-Chamber, the Attendants were immediately dismissed, the Door shut, and the Earl seated himself on the Bed-side, where lay the Blushing panting Fair, her delicate Hand and Arms all exposed, and her snowy Neck and Bosom naked to the Eye. Here I must check my Reader's Imagination, who I doubt not by this Time, has Cuckoled the Count in Imagination, and fancies the Scene laid for such an Interlude, and assure him that nothing pass'd (for ought I know) at this Interview, but what might have been acted in a Church. The Lady only after the common Compliment, acquainted the Earl, that she was sorry she could not discharge the Pistoles he had advanced for her for some Days, but that she would pay him in a little Time, and would own herself infinitely obliged to his Excellency, if he would not mention any thing of the Debt to the Count her Husband : The Earl who proposed to push Matters no further at the first Interview,

reply'd

reply'd with abundance of Politeness, that he was glad he had it in his Power to do her the smallest Kindness, that for the Affair of the Pistoles they were such a Trifle, he gave himself no Time to think of them, and hoped her Ladyship would never think of them more, and to rest herself satisfied, that he had too much deference for her Commands, and too just an Opinion of the Count ever to mention such an Affair in his hearing. With this the Earl attempted to withdraw, but the Countess detain'd him some Time, and of herself changed the Subject to Politicks, and of Course made mention of *Charles* King of *Sweden*, after giving a large Character of that young Monarch, and the many mad Enterprizes he was engaged in, she added, my Lord Ambassador, your Court had better Court the Friendship of the King of *Sweden*, for to my certain Knowledge, he Mediates revenge against his Britannick Majesty for the Affair of the Dutchy of *Bremen* and *Verden*: Your Excellency knows the Attachment I have, and naturally ought to have to the House of *Stuart*, and how reasonable it is for me

to

to wish them re-establish'd on the Throne of *Britain*, and therefore that I should conceal from you such Measures as are now in Agitation to affect their Restoration; but you have gain'd so much on my Esteem by your Personal Merit, that what I should refuse to the *British* Ambassador, I cannot deny the Count *de Stairs*, and am glad that I have it in my Power to do you a Curtesy, by discovering to you a Negotiation now on the Topic, which if not prevented, may very much disturb the Peace of *England*: But the Conversation will be now too long, as I expect some Company at this Hour, therefore, if your Lordship has any Curiosity you'll let me see you in the Evening, when I shall be alone: The Affair was of too much Consequence to be neglected: The Earl return'd for that Time the Countess's Civilities, and waited on her in the Evening, when he was let into the whole Plot, of which he immediately acquainted his late Majesty, and so put a stop to that dangerous Conspiracy.

This is but one Instance among many, where this Lord sacrificed his Fortune for the

the better Discharge of the Duties of his Place, and to serve his Country effectually; but as there is but little Variety in such Adventures, I do not chuse to trouble the Reader with more Particulars, let it suffice, that in procuring Intelligence, and defeating the Projects form'd by the Partizans of the Pretender and other Enemies of the House of *Hanover*, that he spent his Fortune, and run himself considerably in Debt.

When he return'd from his Embassy, and to the Conviction of all Mankind, merited as much as a Court could give him, if a faithful and diligent Discharge of his Duty in the most ticklish Situation: If saving the Nation by his Vigilance from the Effects of a Rebellion already broken out, and preventing another, which must have effectually overturn'd the Constitution, if spending the Appointments of his Place to support the Dignity of the Crown, and begging a fair Patrimonial Estate, in Support of the Succession merited any Thing, sure the Earl of *Stair* had a Claim to some of the Favours and Sunshine of a Court; but he was an Instance of the instability of
human

human Grandeur, for in a little Time after his Return from *France*, he was stripp'd of all his Places, and left to struggle with the greatest Difficulties; how shocking must it be to every honest Mind to see that Man who was, at the Court of *France*, the Envoy of all *Europe*, courted and entertain'd by the greatest Crown'd Heads to see him I say, when he arrives in his own Country, exposed to the Contempt of a base Ministry without Trust, Place, Pension, or so much Estate as was sufficient to maintain one of his Grooms.

The Earl's Disgrace afforded Matter of Surprize to the whole Nation, and the more so, as the Cause was kept a profound Secret: All that can be guess'd relating to it, is, that his Disgrace was in some Measure owing to a Promise or Letter said to be Writ by the late King, promising a Surrender of the Fortress of *Gibraltar*, a Measure which the Earl of *Stair* disapproved of, and refused, as it is said, to take the blame upon himself when that Affair came to be canvass'd in Parliament: This is the only Conjecture I can make in Relation to the Cause of his Disgrace;

without pretending to assert any Thing positive in the Matter.

From that Time till the Year 1743, he continued out of all Place; but that Year the Necessity there was for an experienced General, brought him into Play. He commanded under his Majesty at the Famous Skirmish at *Dettingen*, and behaved in such Manner as did Honour to his Country: This was the last Campaign that great Man served in; for another General was sent over to *Flanders* and *Stair* remained unactive at Home, for what Reason our Politicians only can answer. Tho' it is probable, that the old General could not so easily be brought to approve of some certain Measures, and that his Presence might be a troublesome Check upon the dark Proceedings which has followed since that Time, especially the Execution of the infamous Treaty of *Worms*, which I think, we may now say without Offence, and from fatal Experience, prolong'd an unsuccessful and expensive War, and laid the Foundation of an inglorious Peace. During the Rebellion he only assisted with his Council, but refused to act as General,

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knowing

knowing that if any Miscarriage should happen, he might by the Malicious have been charged with favouring his Countrymen, tho' in his Heart he was far from any Partiality of that Kind, and I believe as free from giving any Countenance to sanguine Measures: He had nothing of Cruelty in his Temper, and always esteem'd that Disposition as a Mark of Cowardice whenever he met it: He knew the Temper of the People of *Scotland* too well, and not out of Regard to them, but out of true Zeal for his Majesty's Service, he wish'd that Mercy and Punishment might be duly mixed, and that no Measures might be pursu'd that look'd like Revenge or an Extension of meer Power: It was with this View it's said, he wrote some Time before he died to the Duke of *N—le*, complaining in warm Terms of the Bill then depending in relation to the *Scotch* Jurisdictions, and assuring that Nobleman, that to his Knowledge, the Exertion of such an Act of Power would alienate the Affections of those who were the Kings best Friends; since they saw they were to suffer, not because they were Criminal, but because they

they were *Scotchmen*, and as such, unworthy of the Common Privileges of Subjects.

He said on that Occasion, that tho' he was sensible the Execution of the criminal Part of those hereditary Jurisdictions, wanted to be put under some Regulations for the Ease and Freedom of the Lower Class of People in the remote Corners of *Scotland*; yet he could never think it could be for the general Interest of that Part of the united Kingdom, to destroy the private Right of the whole Body of the People; especially since an Attempt of that kind, was one of the greatest Crimes alledg'd for the Banishment and Attainder of King *James the Second*; that a Right to continue them untouch'd was inserted in the Claim of Right presented to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and by them with the Rest sworn to be preserv'd on their Accession; that it would seem strange that a Grievance which laid the Foundation of the Revolution itself, should now be laid upon that Kingdom by that very Family, whom the Nation elected purely to screen them from the Fears and Dangers of such an Attack. He added fur-

ther, that to propose an Equivalent to the Proprietors of Jurisdictions was an Absurdity, since their Jurisdictions and Privileges belong'd to the Subjects of the several Jurisdictions as well as to them, since every Subject was a Gainer to have their Disputes ended in their own Country, and would be a considerable Sufferer, if for every petty Difference they were oblig'd to carry their Action to the Metropolis, or wait the Return of the King's Judges; that it was altering the whole Constitution of *Scotland*; and would in a few Years beget a total Alteration of the whole Body of their Laws. But above all, he insisted, that taking the Jurisdictions out of the Hands of the People, and placing them in the Crown, was giving a Blow to the whole *British* Constitution, which every honest Man ought to tremble at; since it gave to the Crown a Power under the Shadow of Law, which no Sovereign ever enjoy'd before, or durst with impunity attempt to attain; and might in Reigns, when this Nation for its Sins, should chance to be visited with weak or wicked Princes, or a corrupt Ministry, forge those very Chains
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for the whole Nation, which this Measure pretends to prevent.

This was the last Publick Measure he disapproved of; I hope he may not prove a Prophet in that Respect. He was but few Days confined to his Bed, and died, rather of Age and a total Decay of Nature, than of any particular Malady, upon X of May 1747; and was buried on *Saturday* the 23d. His Corps was carried from *Queensberry House*, in the *Cannongate* in the Suburbs of *Edinburgh* to *Kirkcaldow*, where is the Burial Place of the Family, in the following Manner.

At Ten o'Clock a Sky-Rocket was thrown from the *Cannongate Cross* as a Signal to the Castle, where the Procession began.

1. Six Battoons march'd two and two.
2. A Mourning Coach with Four Gentlemen Ushers with his Lordship's Crest.
3. Another Mourning Coach, with three Gentlemen Ushers attending a Friend of the Family, who carried his Lordship's Coronet on a Crimson Velvet Cushion.

4. Six

4. Six Gentlemen-Uffers on Foot with
Battoons adorn'd at each End with gilded
Streamers.

5. The Corps under a dress'd Canopy
drawn by Six dress'd Horses, with his
Lordship's Achievements within the Or-
der of the Thistle.

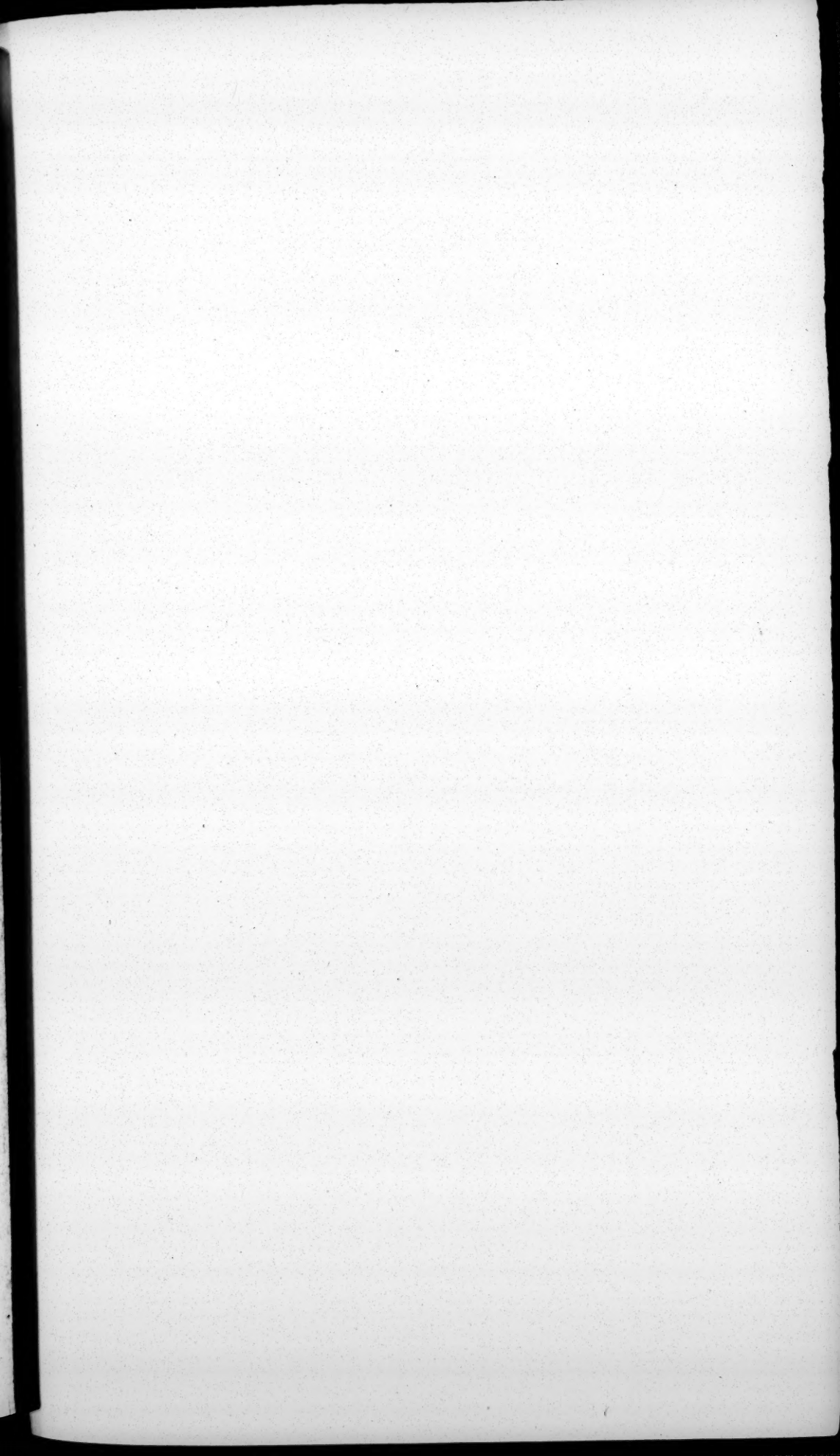
6. The Chief Mourners in a Coach
and Six, with his Lordship's Coat of
Arms, Crest and Coronet, within the
Green Ribbon on the Door Panels.

7. Nine Mourning Coaches and Six.

8. His Lordship's Body Coach empty.

9. The Nobility and Gentry's Coaches
in Order; during the whole Procession
Minute Guns were fired from the Castle,
and the Flag hung in a Mourning
Posture.

Two Six-Battoons marched two and two.
A Mourning Coach with Four Gen-
tlemen Uffers with his Lordship's Crest.
Another Mourning Coach with three
Gentlemen Uffers and his Lordship's
family, who carried his Lordship's
Coronet on a Crimson Velvet Cushion.



4. Six Gentlemen-Ushers on Foot with Battoons adorn'd at each End with gilded Streamers.

5. The Corps under a dress'd Canopy drawn by Six dress'd Horses, with his Lordship's Atchievements within the Order of the Thistle.

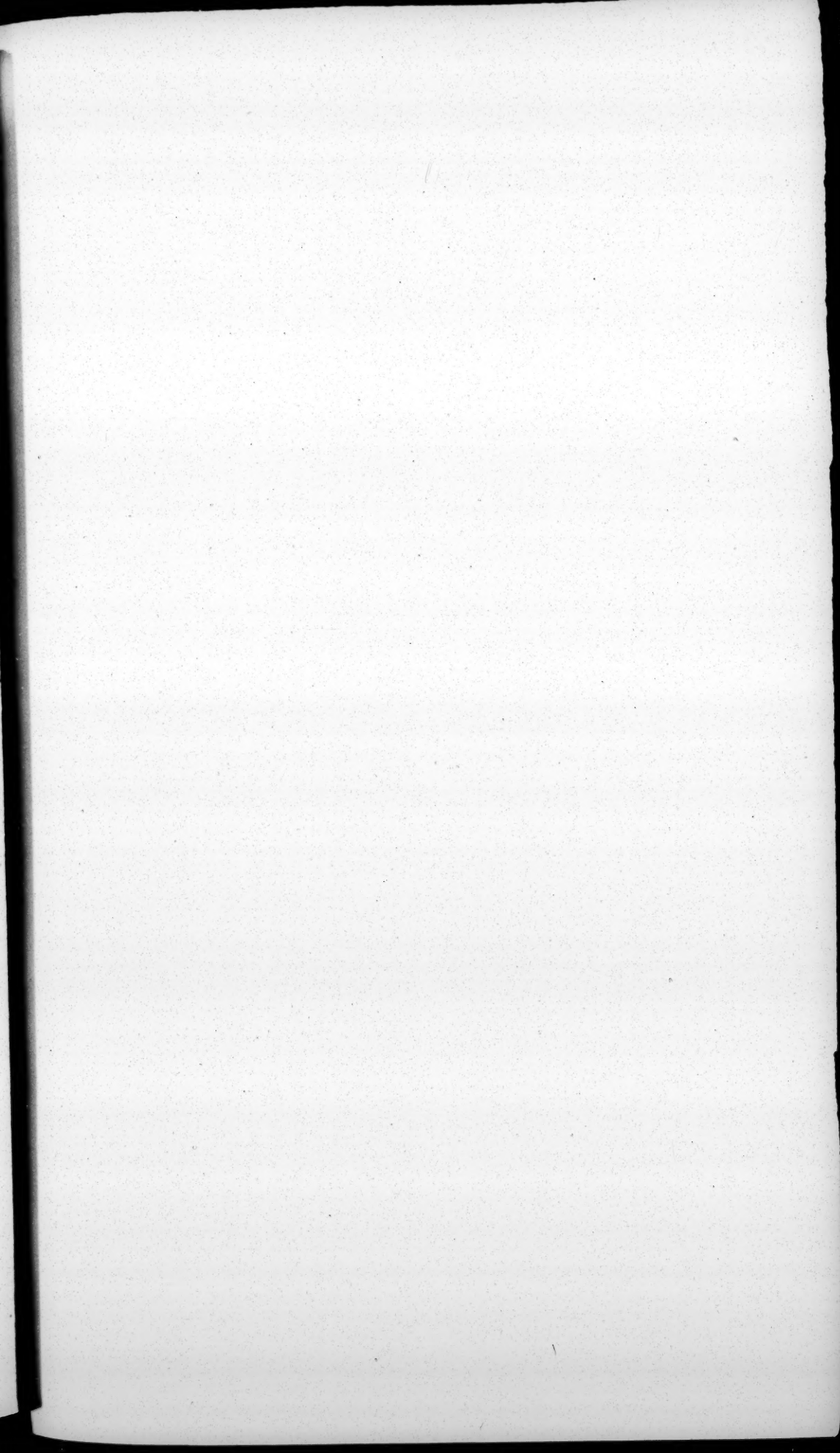
6. The Chief Mourners in a Coach and Six, with his Lordship's Coat of Arms, Crest and Coronet, within the Green Ribbon on the Door Panels.

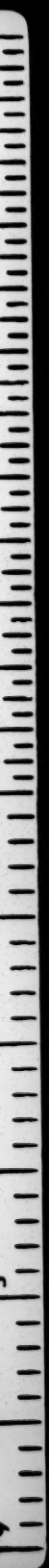
7. Nine Mourning Coaches and Six.

8. His Lordship's Body Coach empty.

9. The Nobility and Gentry's Coaches in Order; during the whole Proceffion Minute Guns were fired from the Castle, and the Flag hung in a Mourning Posture.

F I N I S.





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